

# CHAPTER 9

## Political Parties

### REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

#### CHAPTER FOCUS

This chapter provides a fairly detailed exploration of one unique aspect of American politics: the two-party system that has evolved in the United States. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Define the term *political party* and contrast the structures of the European and American parties, paying particular attention to the federal structure of the American system and the concept of party identification.
2. Trace the development of the party system through its four periods, and offer reasons that parties have been in decline since the New Deal period.
3. Describe the structure of a major party and distinguish powerful from powerless party organs.
4. Define *intraparty democracy* and state its effect on the last few Democratic nominating conventions in the last few contests. Evaluate the relative strengths of state party bosses in recent years, and discuss the increasing importance of primaries in relation to the boss system at conventions.
5. Describe the machine, discuss its functions, and trace its decline. Contrast its structure with that of ideological and reform parties.
6. Offer two explanations for the persistence of the two-party system. Explain why minor parties form, and discuss different kinds of parties. Analyze why they are so rarely successful.
7. Describe some of the issue differences between delegates at Democratic and Republican conventions, and indicate whether there are major differences between the parties. Compare these differences with those between members of the rank and file voters.

### STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
  - A. Swings in recent elections
    1. Democratic success in 2006 mid-term congressional elections, after years of Republican success
    2. Republican success in 2002
  - B. 2006 swings were the result of a general desire for change (as opposed to agreement with the policies of the Democratic Party)
  - C. If anything, the relevance of the parties is declining—a serious problem for our representative democracy

## II. Parties here and abroad

### A. The American context

1. A party is a group that seeks to elect candidates to public office by supplying them with a label
2. American parties: historical development
  - a) American parties are the oldest in the world
  - b) New parties come and go, but two dominate the process
  - c) Do not matter as much as they once did
    - (1) They used to mobilize voters
    - (2) Identification used to involve a serious commitment
  - d) Why the decline?
    - (1) Laws and rules
    - (2) Voters have lost a sense of commitment
    - (3) Decentralization has made the weakening uneven
3. Relevant arenas
  - a) A label in the minds of the voters
  - b) Set of leaders in government
  - c) Organization recruiting and campaigning
4. American parties have become weaker in all three arenas
  - a) As labels: more independents
  - b) As organizations: much weaker since the 1960s
  - c) As sets of leaders: the organization of Congress less under their control

### B. Reasons for differences from European parties

1. Federal system decentralizes power
  - a) Early on, most people with political jobs worked for state and local governments
  - b) National parties were coalitions of local parties
  - c) As political power becomes more centralized, parties become weaker still
2. Parties closely regulated by state and federal laws
3. Candidates chosen through primaries, not by party leaders
4. President elected separately from Congress
5. Political culture
  - a) Parties unimportant in life; Americans do not join or pay dues
  - b) Parties separate from other aspects of life

## III. The rise and decline of the political party

- A. The Founding (to the 1820s)
  1. Founders' dislike of factions
  2. Emergence of Republicans, Federalists: Jefferson versus Hamilton
    - a) Loose caucuses of political notables
    - b) Republicans' success and Federalists' demise
  3. No representation of clear economic interests
- B. The Jacksonians (to the Civil War)
  1. Political participation a mass phenomenon
    - a) More voters to reach
    - b) Party built from the bottom up
    - c) Abandonment of presidential caucuses
    - d) Beginning of national conventions to allow local control
- C. The Civil War and sectionalism
  1. Jacksonian system unable to survive slavery issue
  2. New Republicans become dominant because of
    - a) Civil War and Republicans on Union side

- b) Bryan's alienation of northern Democrats in 1896
  - 3. In most states one party predominates
    - a) Party professionals, or "stalwarts," one faction in GOP
    - b) Mugwumps, Progressives, or "reformers" another faction
      - (1) Balance of power at first
      - (2) Diminished role later
  - D. The era of reform
    - 1. Progressive push measures to curtail parties
      - a) Primary elections
      - b) Nonpartisan elections
      - c) No party-business alliances
      - d) Strict voter registration requirements
      - e) Civil service reform
      - f) Initiative and referendum elections
    - 2. Effects
      - a) Reduction in worst forms of political corruption
      - b) Weakening of all political parties
- IV. Party realignments
- A. Definition: sharp, lasting shift in the popular coalition supporting one or both parties
  - B. Occurrences: change in issues
    - 1. 1800: Jeffersonians defeated Federalists
    - 2. 1828: Jacksonian Democrats came to power
    - 3. 1860: Whigs collapsed; Republicans won
    - 4. 1896: Republicans defeated Bryan
    - 5. 1932: FDR Democrats came to power
  - C. Kinds of realignments
    - 1. Major party disappears and is replaced (1800, 1860)
    - 2. Voters shift from one party to another (1896, 1932)
  - D. Clearest cases
    - 1. 1860: slavery
    - 2. 1896: economics
    - 3. 1932: depression
  - E. 1980 not a realignment
    - 1. Expressed dissatisfaction with Carter
    - 2. Also left Congress Democratic
  - F. 1972–1988: shift in presidential voting patterns in the South
    - 1. Fewer Democrats, more Republicans, more independents
    - 2. Independents vote Republican
    - 3. Now close to fifty-fifty Democratic, Republican
    - 4. Party dealignment, not realignment
  - G. Party decline; evidence for it
    - 1. Fewer people identify with either party
    - 2. Increase in ticket splitting
- V. The national party structure today
- A. Parties similar on paper
    - 1. National convention ultimate power; nominates presidential candidate
    - 2. National committee composed of delegates from states
    - 3. Congressional campaign committees
    - 4. National chair manages daily work

- B. Party structure diverges in the late 1960s
  - 1. RNC moves to bureaucratic structure; a well-financed party devoted to electing its candidates
  - 2. Democrats move to factionalized structure to distribute power
  - 3. RNC uses computerized mailing lists to raise money
    - a) Money used to run political consulting firm
    - b) Legal and financial advice, issue research, provide information on voting trends, conduct advertising campaigns, etc.
  - 4. Democrats copied the Republican strategy and set new records for fund raising
  - 5. The current competition for soft money and record spending
- C. National conventions
  - 1. National committee sets time and place; issues call setting number of delegates for each state
  - 2. Formulas used to allocate delegates
    - a) Democrats shift the formula away from the South to the North and West
    - b) Republicans shift the formula away from the East to the South and Southwest
    - c) Result: Democrats move left, Republicans right
  - 3. Democratic formula rewards large states and Republican-loyal states
  - 4. Democrats set new rules
    - a) In the 1970s the rules changed to weaken party leaders and increase the influence of special interests
    - b) Hunt commission in 1981 reverses 1970s rules by increasing the influence of elected officials and by making convention more deliberative
  - 5. Consequence of reforms: parties represent different set of upper-middle-class voters
    - a) Republicans represent traditional middle class
    - b) Democrats represent the “new class”
    - c) Democrats hurt because the traditional middle class closer in opinions to most citizens
  - 6. To become more competitive, Democrats adopt rule changes
    - a) In 1988 the number of super-delegates increased and special interests decreased
    - b) In 1992 three rules: winner-reward system, proportional representation, and states that violate rules are penalized
  - 7. Conventions today only ratify choices made in primaries

## VI. State and local parties

- A. The machine
  - 1. Recruitment via tangible incentives
  - 2. High degree of leadership control
  - 3. Abuses
    - a) Gradually controlled by reforms
    - b) But machines continued
  - 4. Both self-serving and public regarding
  - 5. Winning above all else
- B. Ideological parties
  - 1. Principle above all else
  - 2. Usually outside Democrats and Republicans
  - 3. But some local reform clubs
  - 4. Reform clubs replaced by social movements
- C. Solidary groups
  - 1. Most common form of party organization
  - 2. Members motivated by solidary incentives

- 3. Advantage: neither corrupt nor inflexible
  - 4. Disadvantage: not very hard working
  - D. Sponsored parties
    - 1. Created or sustained by another organization
    - 2. Example: Detroit Democrats controlled by UAW
    - 3. Not very common
  - E. Personal following
    - 1. Examples: Kennedys, Curley, Talmadges, Longs
    - 2. Viability today affected by TV and radio
    - 3. Advantage: vote for the person
    - 4. Disadvantage: takes time to know the person
- VII. The two-party system
- A. Rarity among nations today
  - B. Evenly balanced nationally, not locally
  - C. Why such a permanent feature?
    - 1. Electoral system: winner-take-all and plurality system
    - 2. Opinions of voters: two broad coalitions
      - a) Most Americans see a difference between Democrats and Republicans
        - (1) Democrats favored on issues such as poverty, the environment and health care
        - (2) Republicans favored on issues such as national defense, foreign trade and crime
        - (3) Parties evenly split on issues such as the economy and taxes
      - b) Mass perceptions can change (education, national defense, immigration policy, etc.)
    - 3. For many years, the laws of many states
- VIII. Minor parties
- A. Ideological parties: comprehensive, radical view; most enduring  
Examples: Socialist, Communist, Libertarian
  - B. One-issue parties: address one concern, avoid others  
Examples: Free Soil, Know-Nothing, Prohibition
  - C. Economic protest parties: regional, oppose depressions  
Examples: Greenback, Populist
  - D. Factional parties: from split in a major party  
Examples: Bull Moose, Henry Wallace, American Independent
  - E. Movements *not* producing parties; either slim chance of success or major parties accommodate  
Examples: civil rights, antiwar, labor
  - F. Factional parties have had greatest influence
    - 1. 1992 and 1996, Ross Perot
    - 2. 2000 and 2004, Ralph Nader
- IX. Nominating a president
- A. Two contrary forces: party's desire to win motivates it to seek an appealing candidate, but its desire to keep dissidents in party forces a compromise to more extreme views
  - B. Are the delegates representative of the voters?
    - 1. Democratic delegates much more liberal
    - 2. Republican delegates much more conservative

- 3. Explanation of this disparity not quota rules: quota groups have greater diversity of opinion than do the delegates
- C. Who votes in primaries?
  - 1. Primaries now more numerous and more decisive
    - a) Stevenson and Humphrey never entered a primary
    - b) By 1992: forty primaries and twenty caucuses
  - 2. Little ideological difference between primary voters and rank-and-file party voters
  - 3. Caucus: meeting of party followers at which delegates are picked
    - a) Only most-dedicated partisans attend
    - b) Often choose most ideological candidate: Jackson, Robertson in 1988
- D. Who are the new delegates?
  - 1. However chosen, today's delegates a new breed unlikely to resemble average citizen: issue-oriented activists
  - 2. Advantages of new system
    - a) Increased chance for activists within party
    - b) Decreased probability of their bolting the party
  - 3. Disadvantage: may nominate presidential candidates unacceptable to voters or rank and file
- X. Parties versus voters
  - A. Democrats: win congressional elections but lose presidential contests
    - 1. Candidates are out of step with average voters on social and tax issues
    - 2. So are delegates, and there's a connection
  - B. Republicans had the same problem with Goldwater (1964)
  - C. Rank-and-file Democrats and Republicans differ on many political issues, but the differences are usually small
  - D. Delegates from two parties differ widely on these same issues
    - 1. 1996 conventions
      - a) Few conservatives at Democratic convention
      - b) Few liberals at Republican convention
    - 2. Formula for winning president
      - a) Nominate candidates with views closer to the average citizen (e.g., 1996 election)
      - b) Fight campaign over issues agreed on by delegates and voters (e.g., 1992 election)

## KEY TERMS MATCH

Match the following terms and descriptions.

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. A group that seeks to elect candidates to public office by supplying them with a label                     | a. Anti-Masonic party               |
| 2. A name applied by some of the Founders to political parties, to connote their tendency toward divisiveness | b. caucus                           |
| 3. The political party founded and led by Thomas Jefferson  | c. congressional campaign committee |
| 4. The political party founded and led by Alexander Hamilton  | d. critical (or realigning) period  |
|   | e. Democratic-Republicans           |
|   | f. factional parties                |
|   | g. factions                         |
|   | h. Federalists                      |

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 5. The arrangement of political parties initiated by Andrew Jackson  | i. Hatch Act                   |
| 6. A name for party professionals, as opposed to volunteers  | j. ideological parties         |
| 7. A name for party volunteers who later come to form their own reform movement  | k. initiative                  |
| 8. An election in which candidates for office are not identified by party labels   | l. machine                     |
| 9. A machine that began as a caucus of well-to-do notables in New York City  | m. Mugwumps                    |
| 10. A party that stresses national organization to raise money and give assistance to local candidates and party units   | n. national (party) chair      |
| 11. An election in which citizens directly approve or disapprove legislation proposed by the government  | o. national committee          |
| 12. Political party that held the first convention in American history   | p. national convention         |
| 13. Features a sharp, lasting shift in the popular coalition supporting one or both parties  | q. nonpartisan election        |
| 14. An election in which citizens can place on the legislative agenda proposals by non-government groups   | r. office bloc ballot          |
| 15. Elected officials who serve as delegates to the national convention  | s. organizational party        |
| 16. An electoral system that gives the only office to the candidate with the largest vote total, rather than apportioning numerous offices by the percentage of the total vote | t. party column ballot         |
| 17. A party unit that recruits members with tangible rewards and that is tightly controlled by the leadership  | u. personal following          |
| 18. A closed meeting of party leaders to select party candidates   | v. plurality system            |
| 19. Parties that value principle above all else  | w. political machine           |
| 20. Parties organized around sociability, rather than tangible rewards or ideology   | x. political party             |
| 21. Party units established or maintained by outside groups  | y. proportional representation |
|  | z. referendum                  |
|  | aa. Republican                 |
|  | bb. second-party system        |
|  | cc. solidary groups            |
|  | dd. solidary incentives        |
|  | ee. split ticket voting        |
|  | ff. sponsored parties          |
|  | gg. stalwarts                  |
|  | hh. superdelegates             |
|  | ii. Tammany Hall               |
|  | jj. two-party system           |
|  | kk. winner-take-all            |

22. The practice of voting for one major party's candidate in state or local elections and the other's at the national level
23. Only third party to ever win a presidential election
24. An electoral system that distributes numerous seats to parties on the basis of their percentage of the popular vote
25. Parties formed by a split within one of the major parties
26. Addressed the issue of federal civil service employees taking an active part in political management or campaigns
27. A ballot listing all candidates of a given party together under the name of that party
28. A committee in each party to help elect or reelect members
29. The person elected and paid to manage the day-to-day work of a national political party
30. Delegates from each state who manage party affairs between conventions
31. A meeting of elected party delegates every four years to nominate presidential and vice-presidential candidates and ratify a campaign platform
32. An electoral system with two dominant parties that compete in state and national elections
33. A ballot listing all candidates for a given office under the name of that office
34. An electoral system in which the winner is the person who gets the most votes but not necessarily a majority of votes
35. A party organization that recruits members by dispensing patronage
36. The social rewards that lead people to join political organizations
37. The political support provided to a candidate on the basis of personal popularity and networks

## DATA CHECK

### Figure 9.1 (Page 192): Decline in Party Identification, 1952–2004

1. Which of the major parties typically has a higher number of “strong” identifiers?

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2. In which years has the percentage of “strong” or “weak” Democrats or Republicans risen above 30 percent?

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3. In what decade do independent voters first represent at least 30 percent of respondents?

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### Figure 9.2 (Page 201): Split Ticket Voting for President/House, 1952–2004

4. In what year did split ticket voting occur least often?

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5. Generalize about the total amount of split ticket voting since 1972.

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6. When does split ticket voting occur more often, when voters are selecting a Democratic or Republican president?

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### Table 9.1 (Page 205): Who Are the Party Delegates?

7. Which party has a higher percentage of women and blacks among delegates?

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8. Which party has a higher percentage of Protestants and born again Christians?

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9. Which party has a majority of delegates who are college educated?

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10. Which party has more than 40 percent of its delegates with family incomes of \$100,000 or more?

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### Table 9.2 (Page 212): Party Voting in Presidential Elections

11. In which elections did Democratic voters support Democratic candidates at a higher rate than Republican voters supported Republican candidates?

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12. What can be concluded with respect to independent votes based on in these five elections?

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### **Table 9.3 (Page 218): Political Opinions of Delegates and Voters, 2004**

For each issue the three sets of percentages indicate the proportion of convention delegates and voters who favor the issue. You can compare both differences between Democrats and Republicans and differences between delegates and voters.

13. On what three issues do Democratic and Republican *delegates* appear to differ most widely?
- 

14. On what issues do *voters* and Democratic *delegates* appear to differ most widely?
- 

15. On what issues do *voters* and Republican *delegates* appear to differ most widely?
- 

16. What do these figures indicate?
- 

## **PRACTICING FOR EXAMS**

### **TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS**

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F The decline in political parties poses serious problems for our representative democracy.
- 

2. T F American political parties are more effective at mobilizing voters than are parties in other democratic nations.
- 

3. T F The number of Americans who identify themselves as independents is increasing.
- 

4. T F Once in office, elected officials in Europe are expected to vote and act together with other members of their party.
- 

5. T F Political authority in the United States has of late come to be far more centralized.
- 

6. T F Political parties have of late become more centralized.
- 

7. T F Primary elections are extremely competitive in Europe.
-

8. T F Most Americans would resent partisanship becoming a conspicuous feature of other organizations to which they belong.
- 

9. T F Our nation began without political parties.
- 

10. T F The Founders favored parties because they enhanced communication between the government and its citizens.
- 

11. T F The followers of Hamilton founded the first political party.
- 

12. T F The first political party took for a name “Republicans.”
- 

13. T F Popular support for the Federalist party was limited to sections of the country and particular classes of Americans.
- 

14. T F The convention system was first developed in part as a reform
- 

15. T F The modern Republican Party began as a third party.
- 

16. T F The Progressives opposed non-partisan elections.
- 

17. T F The reforms of the Progressives had the effect of weakening political parties.
- 

18. T F An electoral realignment took place in 1860.
- 

19. T F Economic issues triggered the alignments of 1896 and 1932.
- 

20. T F The text concludes the election of Ronald Reagan clearly signaled a new electoral realignment.
- 

21. T F Split ticket voting has been most common in the northeastern United States.
- 

22. T F Super-delegates are delegates to the national conventions who are also public officials.
-

23. T F The “reforms” which followed the 1960s resulted in a Democratic national convention that more closely reflected public opinion than the Republican national convention.
- 
24. T F Today, national conventions are places where party leaders meet to bargain over the selection of their presidential candidates.
- 
25. T F The Hatch Act of 1939 made it illegal for federal civil service employees to work in partisan campaigns.
- 
26. T F The text suggests the Hatch Act of 1939 destroyed so-called “political machines.”
- 
27. T F Elections where party machines were active commonly featured high voter turnout.
- 
28. T F Political machines usually supported presidential candidates who had the best chance of winning even if they held contrary policy viewpoints.
- 
29. T F Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy benefited from machine politics.
- 
30. T F The ideological party values winning above all else.
- 
31. T F The most firmly ideological parties have been factions within the Democratic Party.
- 
32. T F Solidary groups tend to work harder than others.
- 
33. T F David Mayhew suggests the traditional party organization exists in about half of the states.
- 
34. T F Most European democracies have strong two party systems like the United States.
- 
35. T F In 1992, Bill Clinton won 45 percent of the popular vote in Missouri, but all of the state’s electoral votes.
- 
36. T F The United States has never experimented with proportional representation.
- 
37. T F In the United States, a third party has never won the presidency.
-

38. T F The text suggests no third party is likely to win—or even come close to winning—the presidency any time soon.
- 
39. T F For many years, the laws of many states made it difficult, if not impossible, for third parties to get on the ballot.
- 
40. T F The minor parties that have endured in American politics have been ideological ones.
- 
41. T F The authors conclude that it is striking that we have had so many minor parties.
- 
42. T F Today, a larger proportion of party delegates are interested in issues and less amenable to compromise.
- 
43. T F Before 1972, party leaders chose most party delegates.
- 
44. T F Only about half as many people vote in primaries as in general elections.
- 
45. T F Since 1968, the Democratic Party has had no trouble winning congressional elections.
- 
46. T F Republican convention delegates appear to be more separated from the opinions of most citizens than Democratic convention delegates.
- 

## MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. The oldest political parties in the world are currently found in
  - a. India.
  - b. the United States.
  - c. Great Britain.
  - d. Germany.
  - e. Switzerland.
2. Parties in the United States are relatively weak today mainly because
  - a. the laws and rules under which they operate have taken away much of their power.
  - b. political leaders have insisted that ballots do not identify the party of candidates.
  - c. interest groups are less influential than they were 40 years ago.
  - d. many voters have lost their sense of commitment to party identification.
  - e. A and D.

3. American political parties have become weaker as
  - a. labels in the minds of voters.
  - b. a set of political leaders who try to organize and control government.
  - c. organizations that recruit candidates.
  - d. all of the above.
  - e. none of the above.
4. In Europe, candidates for elective office are generally nominated by
  - a. local referenda.
  - b. aristocrats.
  - c. party leaders.
  - d. prime ministers.
  - e. national primaries.
5. Decentralization of political authority in the United States is chiefly promoted by
  - a. the legal community.
  - b. federalism.
  - c. nationalism.
  - d. the church.
  - e. the mass media.
6. American political parties, unlike those of most other democratic nations, are closely regulated by
  - a. minorities.
  - b. the Constitution.
  - c. powerful machines.
  - d. the executive branch of government.
  - e. state and federal laws.
7. The text suggests most Americans would \_\_\_\_\_ partisanship's becoming a conspicuous feature of other organizations to which they belong.
  - a. resent
  - b. support
  - c. welcome
  - d. hardly notice or care about
  - e. praise
8. Which of the following is *not* a reason for stronger political parties in Europe?
  - a. The greater age of European parties.
  - b. The absence of primary elections.
  - c. The ability of the legislature to choose the chief executive.
  - d. The power of leaders to nominate candidates.
  - e. A political culture more favorable to parties.
9. George Washington was critical of political parties most notably in his
  - a. Last Will and Testament.
  - b. inaugural speech.
  - c. messages to Congress.
  - d. Farewell Address.
  - e. correspondence with Thomas Jefferson.

10. Why should George Washington, among other Founders of our nation, have been so opposed to political parties?
  - a. Because the Constitution made clear the dangers of partisanship in government.
  - b. Because political parties during the early years of the republic were both strong and centralized.
  - c. Because disputes over policies and elections were not easily separated from disputes over governmental legitimacy.
  - d. Because political parties during the early years of the Republic represented clear, homogeneous economic interests.
  - e. Because Washington was concerned that Hamilton would win the White House as a result of party mobilization.
11. The first political party was organized by
  - a. the followers of Hamilton.
  - b. the followers of Jefferson.
  - c. farmers and Revolutionary War soldiers.
  - d. the Danbury Baptists.
  - e. Federalist newspapermen.
12. Thomas Jefferson considered his Republican party to be
  - a. secret monarchists.
  - b. a federalism broker.
  - c. antifederalist.
  - d. a temporary arrangement.
  - e. a permanent organization.
13. Which description of the Jacksonian period of political parties is *incorrect*?
  - a. The North and the South became more divided.
  - b. The Democrats and the Whigs were fairly evenly balanced.
  - c. The number of eligible voters decreased.
  - d. The party convention system was invented.
  - e. It featured the first truly national system.
14. Up until the Jacksonian period of political parties, presidential candidates were nominated by
  - a. the Supreme Court.
  - b. state legislatures.
  - c. primary voters.
  - d. members of Congress.
  - e. party leaders.
15. In 1831 the \_\_\_\_\_ Party held the first American party convention.
  - a. Anti-Masonic
  - b. Free Soil
  - c. Greenback
  - d. Whig
  - e. Know-Nothing
16. Leading up the Civil War, Republicans generally won
  - a. the House.
  - b. the Senate.
  - c. the House and the Senate.
  - d. the Presidency
  - e. B and D.

17. The candidacy of William Jennings Bryan strengthened the Republican Party because Bryan
  - a. was quite unpopular in the South.
  - b. alienated many voters in the populous northeastern states.
  - c. called for a strong national government.
  - d. alienated rural voters in the Midwest.
  - e. represented the narrow interests of industrialists.
18. The Mugwumps were
  - a. a political branch of the American Legion.
  - b. a faction of the Republican party.
  - c. the forerunners of the Ku Klux Klan.
  - d. an activist Indian tribe.
  - e. Louisiana tobacco farmers who held land near the coast.
19. All of the following were true of the so-called “progressives” *except*
  - a. they wanted more strict voter registration requirements.
  - b. they pressed for civil service reform.
  - c. they called for non-partisan elections at the city level.
  - d. they called for non-partisan elections at the state level.
  - e. they opposed the use of mass media in the conduct of political debate.
20. Scholars recognize at least \_\_\_\_ periods of critical realignment in American politics.
  - a. two
  - b. five
  - c. fifteen
  - d. thirty
  - e. thirty-two
21. Even if one questions the validity of the concept of a critical election, it is quite clear that
  - a. Ronald Reagan’s election in 1980 signaled a realignment.
  - b. Ronald Reagan’s election in 1984 signaled a realignment.
  - c. the South is becoming more supportive of the Democratic Party.
  - d. the South is becoming more supportive of the Republican Party.
  - e. parties are gaining in strength.
22. Ticket splitting was almost unheard of in the nineteenth century because
  - a. voters were not as divided as they are today.
  - b. divided government was considered a circumstance worth avoiding.
  - c. the parties had little strength and were constantly violating election laws.
  - d. ballots were printed by the parties and government ballots featured “party columns.”
  - e. the party identification of most candidates was unknown.
23. Split ticket voting became less common around the turn of the century when the Progressives instituted the “\_\_\_\_\_ ballot.”
  - a. office
  - b. column
  - c. markup
  - d. descriptive
  - e. institutional

24. As a result of changes made by the parties in the 1960s and 1970s, the Democrats have become more \_\_\_\_\_ and the Republican Party has become more \_\_\_\_\_.
- libertarian ... liberal
  - fractionalized ... bureaucratized
  - unified ... people-oriented
  - traditional ... modern
  - organized ... popular
25. In political jargon, the money given to aid political parties is known as “\_\_\_\_\_ money.”
- soft
  - safe
  - picket
  - liquid
  - rock
26. The formulas for apportioning delegates to the national party conventions are such that the Democrats give extra delegates to \_\_\_\_\_ states and the Republicans give extra delegates to states that are \_\_\_\_\_.
- small ... large
  - Midwestern ... heavily populated
  - large ... loyal
  - Southern ... heavily contested
  - conservative ... liberal
27. Under convention rules adopted by Democrats in 1980, there must be an equal number of
- lawyers and doctors.
  - Northerners and Southerners.
  - rural and suburban dwellers.
  - whites and nonwhites.
  - men and women.
28. Under convention rules adopted by Democrats in 1988, most Democratic \_\_\_\_\_ are automatically delegates.
- members of Congress
  - governors
  - judges
  - precinct captains
  - A and B
29. A political machine is a party organization that recruits its members by the use of
- lofty ideals and admirable goals.
  - ideological sympathy.
  - community ties.
  - tangible incentives.
  - socialization.
30. Political machines are credited with helping elect
- Abraham Lincoln.
  - John F. Kennedy.
  - Franklin Roosevelt.
  - Warren G. Harding.
  - all of the above.

31. At the opposite extreme from the political machine is
  - a. the sponsored party.
  - b. a personal following.
  - c. the ideological party.
  - d. the party bundle.
  - e. the solidary group.
32. The political action arm of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Detroit has created a clear example of a(n)
  - a. ideological party.
  - b. solidary group.
  - c. sponsored party.
  - d. political machine.
  - e. personal following.
33. The text suggests \_\_\_\_\_ have become “grand masters” at building personal followings.
  - a. southern politicians in one-party states
  - b. Democrats
  - c. Republicans
  - d. governors in states with small populations
  - e. U.S. Senators
34. More than half of the delegates at the 1984 Democratic national conventions are
  - a. chosen randomly at state conventions.
  - b. hand picked by the expected presidential nominee.
  - c. females who are candidates in state and local elections.
  - d. elected officials who are supported by unions.
  - e. drawn from the ranks of the AFL-CIO, the National Education Association and the National Organization for Women.
35. Almost all elections in the United States are based on
  - a. the plurality system.
  - b. the majority system.
  - c. proportional representation.
  - d. retention and recall.
  - e. a combination of systems.
36. The two-party system has persisted in the United States for all of the following reasons *except*
  - a. it is very difficult to form the broad coalitions necessary to win.
  - b. the plurality system
  - c. the Fourteenth Amendment limits access to the ballot.
  - d. party voting is still quite common among American voters.
  - e. the laws of many states made it difficult for third parties to exist or win.
37. Which of the following statements concerning the Socialist Party of Eugene Debs is *incorrect*?
  - a. It won 6 percent of the vote in the 1912 presidential election.
  - b. It elected over a thousand candidates to offices throughout the United States.
  - c. It elected almost eighty mayors throughout the United States.
  - d. It was outspoken in its criticism of municipal corruption and American entry into World War I.
  - e. None of the above.

38. The Free Soil and Know-Nothing Parties are examples of
- fractional parties.
  - backlash parties.
  - ideological parties.
  - economic protest parties.
  - one-issue parties.
39. Which type of minor party probably has the *greatest* influence on U.S. public policy?
- Factional
  - Ideological
  - Economic protest
  - Backlash
  - One issue
40. Party activists are *not* likely to
- take issues seriously.
  - resemble the average citizen.
  - vote with any degree of consistency.
  - work very hard.
  - support candidates with strong ideological appeal.
41. The disadvantage to parties of the current system of presidential nomination is that it
- affords little opportunity to minorities to voice their concerns.
  - decreases the chances that a faction will separate itself from the party.
  - decreases the chances of a realigning election.
  - increases the chances of nominating a candidate unappealing to the average voter or to the party's rank and file.
  - increases the chances that a faction will separate itself from the party.
42. To obtain power within a political party, an individual must usually
- move toward the center.
  - move away from the center.
  - remain above political conflict.
  - avoid publicity.
  - reflect the views of the average voter.
43. The text suggests Democrats have had some difficulty in competing for the presidency, in part, because
- they have typically had little experience in government.
  - redistricting which has created an advantage for Republicans.
  - slanted reporting by media.
  - of recent changes in electoral laws regarding placement on the ballot.
  - of the views their candidates have had on social issues and taxation.

## ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

- Identify the three political arenas in which political parties exist.
- Describe how American political culture affects the power of political parties. How do Americans differ in their attitudes about parties from Europeans?
- Explain why some of the Founding Fathers were so negative about political parties.

4. Describe political parties in the second party (or Jacksonian) system.
5. Identify some of the reforms and causes espoused by the Progressives and assess their impact on political parties.
6. Explain the two types of political realignment and identify the three clearest examples of such alignments in American history.
7. What are the two major explanations scholars employ when they attempt to explain the presence of the two-party system in America?

**ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS**

1. x
2. g
3. e
4. h
5. bb
6. gg
7. m
8. q
9. ii
10. s
11. z
12. a
13. d
14. k
15. hh
16. kk
17. l
18. b
19. j
20. cc
21. ff
22. ee
23. aa
24. y
25. f
26. i
27. t
28. c
29. n
30. o
31. p
32. jj
33. r

34. v
35. w
36. dd
37. u

## ANSWERS TO DATA CHECK QUESTIONS

1. Democrats.
2. Never.
3. 1960s.
4. 1952 (12 percent).
5. Arguably, it has gone down gradually, from a high of 30 percent (1972) to 17 percent (2004).
6. It seems to have occurred more often when voters are choosing a Republican president and a Democratic House. Although the data for the last three elections are somewhat mixed.
7. Democrats.
8. Republicans.
9. Both parties.
10. Both parties.
11. 1992 and 1996.
12. A higher percentage of independent voters supported the Democrats in three of the five elections represented in the data.
13. Government should do more to solve national problems (70 percent), abortion should be generally available (62 percent) and government's antiterrorism laws restrict civil liberties (62 percent).
14. Government should do more to solve national problems (37 percent).
15. Government should do more to solve national problems (33 percent).
16. That delegates generally take more extreme positions than voters.

## ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. F They are much less effective at this than other parties.
3. T
4. T
5. F It has become more decentralized.
6. F They have also become more decentralized.
7. F There are no primary elections in Europe.
8. T
9. T
10. F They looked down upon parties because factions were viewed with suspicion and distrust.

11. F The followers of Jefferson founded the first party.
12. T
13. T
14. T
15. T
16. F The progressives were great proponents of non-partisan elections.
17. T
18. T
19. T
20. F Reagan's election was not accompanied by Republican control of both chambers of Congress. It was clearly less than anything like a traditional realignment.
21. F It has been most common in the South.
22. T
23. F The Democratic convention appeared to drift further away from public opinion.
24. F Actually, they meet to ratify and confirm the decisions already made by primary participants.
25. T
26. F It did not destroy all of them. Machines continued to exist in Chicago and Philadelphia for example.
27. T
28. T
29. T
30. F The ideological party values principle above all else.
31. F The most firmly ideological have been independent "third parties."
32. F They tend to work less, doing only what is fun, or appealing.
33. F Mayhew sees such competition in only about 8 states.
34. F Most European nations have multi-party systems.
35. T
36. F We have experimented with it in municipal elections in New York City and it is used in Cambridge, Massachusetts.
37. F One has, the Republicans in 1860.
38. T
39. T
40. T
41. F It is striking that we have not had more minor parties.
42. T

- 43. T
- 44. T
- 45. T
- 46. F The Democratic delegates appear to be more separated

## ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

- 1. b
- 2. e
- 3. d
- 4. c
- 5. b
- 6. e
- 7. a
- 8. a
- 9. d
- 10. c
- 11. b
- 12. d
- 13. c
- 14. d
- 15. a
- 16. e
- 17. b
- 18. b
- 19. e
- 20. b
- 21. d
- 22. d
- 23. a
- 24. b
- 25. a
- 26. c
- 27. e
- 28. e
- 29. d

- 30. e
- 31. c
- 32. c
- 33. a
- 34. e
- 35. a
- 36. c
- 37. e
- 38. e
- 39. a
- 40. b
- 41. d
- 42. b
- 43. e